/413 cont./
in the Wainwright region: "The greater part of the skins we saw on the natives, were Otter skins; there were very few Guanaco skins.... Seal skins, both fur and hair, were numerous. Many of the skins were sufficiently large to cover the whole person" (VSA-XI, 288; 1904) /cited in English/.

not only to make their meager articles of clothing, but for all kinds of implements and utilitarian articles. The otter and the fox are hunted only for their fur. Following an old, sanctioned custom, man and wife share in the work of preparation; the heavier work falls to the man, and the lighter handwork to the woman. Fortunately, the skins are extremely greasy and oily. After they have been removed, they keep perfectly for several days despite complete neglect. The sometimes continuous inclemency of the weather very often hinders the man in accomplishing pressing tasks, during which time many objects are badly damaged from lack of immediate care and proper treatment.

When possible, the successful hunter makes every effort to skin the seal immediately at the place where he killed it or at the first best landing place. His main object is the delicious blubber and the fresh meat. First he must pull off the skin. He places the sea lion or related species on its back lengthwise on the ground. His first and only long incision is made from the neck over the chest and belly to the end of the rump. A sharpened mussel shell serves as a knife. The second and deeper incision runs around the neck. He does not yet sever the head completely. /413/ but thrusts his knife in so deeply that the whole head can be grasped with both hands and, after the cervical vertebra has been broken, torn off with a sharp tug. He begins above at one edge of the skin or the other and, holding his knife in his right hand and grasping the skin with his left, he peels it away from its adhering layer of fat by means of short, contiguous, oblique cuts. The flippers are pulled out intact from the joints under the skin which has been severed all around, and thus they remain hanging on the skin. He works his way along, piece by piece, first on one side, then on the other, always in the direction of the rump until the whole

/413 cont./

hard that the sticks of the frame can be removed (58).

58. This basketwork frame for stretching skins is quite as simple and made after the same pattern as that of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, p. 218, and Fig. 33). Some time ago Despard spoke of a preparation of "skins by stretching /sic/ them in wooden frames, till quite dry; then scraping and rubbing with stones, till soft and smooth, and white inside" (VP/VI, 86; 1918) /cited in English/. This procedure is ancient and familiar also to the Halakwulup.

/414/ The procedure in the same for stretching and drying the skins of the fox and the otter, but the work is easier because these skins are lighter and smaller. Some care is required in skinning penguins and cormorants, as well as in stretching these skins, ḫpun, mḫuf, which are thin and delicate. The fur and skins of other animals are not dressed.

If the dried, stiff seal skins are used for the covering of the hut, they need no further preparation, but for their many other uses it is necessary to clean them. The ordinary knife or a sharp-edged mussel shell serves as a scraper. The woman scrapes the inner side, piece by piece, with the entire broad side of the blade. The skin is spread out on the ground with the hair side down, and she kneels or squats on it, pushing herself along bit by bit. With uninterrupted movements of the arm, she draws the scraper toward her body with moderate pressure and in short strokes. Hence the scraping marks appear in layers and point in the same direction. In any case, the scraped surface looks irregular because the sharpness of the scraper and the strength of her arm vary constantly. It is necessary to remove primarily the dried fatty tissue and the transparent horny layer of the surface because they tend to rot easily. The woman is mainly guided by feeling, hence it cannot be definitely determined how deep she should go as she scrapes. It depends on the thickness of the entire skin.

Often it is also necessary to remove the hair, as when pieces of leather are needed for the back-caps and for ponchos or wraps.

/436 cont./

301
[439]

which occasionally reached the neighboring Haus /Haush/ and Halakwulup through barter, was repeatedly mentioned by early travelers. One often sees it in the ethnographic collections of European and American museums. See Bove (c):126, Colini:722, Dabbene (b): 176, Hyades (q):300, 348, Lothrop (b):125, Wieghardt: 23, and others.

[237] Another necklace more highly prized than this is a braided cord of tendon on which short, small pieces of the dried windpipe of the /Fig. 23 appears here/ wild swan (Cygnus melanocoryphus) are very loosely strung. J. L. Myres:97 is right when he says that this "type of necklace is rare and much prized /cited in English/, for the swan seldom appears there in the south, and it is extremely difficult to obtain.

301 237 283 Finally, another necklace is described by Hyades (q):299, which I did not see. "Plaited necklace, Oupakh' ouana; this type of necklace is plaited with fibers of the intestines of young seals, Aouia ama; in the center, Itakoun, there is a fine braid, Acina, made of the sinew of a whale, which /Fig. 24 appears here/ also forms the double braid at the ends of the necklace; the fastening, Yamacéta, of the necklace is a braid made of whale tendon. It is worn only by women, Kipa tapan makou" /translated from French/.

301 The necklaces mentioned above, irrespective of type and construction, are procured by people of either sex and all ages. "The men wear these necklaces also, as well as the women and children" /translated from French/, Hyades (q):349 confirms. Older men do not decorate themselves as much with them, but /437/ older women do, and most of all the younger people. They are almost wholly a plaything for children. A woman will adorn her baby with a necklace chiefly out of a feeling of maternal happiness. The women and girls make all these types of ornament for themselves and for their male relatives, since this is work for women's hands. The personal need for adornment and the vanity of each individual determine how often and how long one decorates himself with this or that piece. Unimpeded

● [462]

/449 cont./

396 501 was diamond-shape in section, so there was a tent-like ridge centrally down each side" /cited in English/. The length is never uniformly determined, but depends on the accidental length of the plank, varying by 150 centimeters. The blade measures about ten centimeters at its widest point. The husband adjusts the thickness of the well-rounded blade to suit his wife's wishes (Fig. 29).

501 [462] If necessity or danger during a trip should force a man to take an oar, he handles it in the same manner as the women. He does not, however, have his own oar, as Colini: 237 erroneously maintains.

Fig. 29. Oar Forms.

The most common designation for these oars, so-called paddles, is ǽppi; they are also called tstatéga and tuswéna. Every family carries at least two oars in their vessel.

506 372 501 During the long trips our natives cannot possibly do without the fire. They keep it burning constantly in the canoe (p. 44). In the center of the bottom there is a specially prepared hearth, and adequate care is taken so that the bark underneath does not burn through. On the bottom they place a few flat stones close together so that there are no gaps. /450/ Upon this layer they place a rather large clump of turf which is at least seven centimeters thick, and its tangle of roots and coarse pebbles is turned upward. An alternative is to form a layer out of crushed mussel shells mixed with pebbles and lumps of clay. There is constant and ample moisture from the water that oozes in from below; hence this thick layer cannot become hot, and there is still less possibility that the bark floor can burn through. Since air has free access from all sides, the fire cannot flare up

/451 cont./

501 283 is always left in the canoe, either rolled up in a ball or wound into a few coils. It is used where steep banks make it impossible to draw the vessel onto land. One end is knotted to the first or second crossbar, witega; the other is wound around a stone or a tree trunk. This rope, which is not very strong, is used to fasten the canoe only in very quiet waters to prevent the boat's being carried off by the ebb and flow of the tide. Because of its lightness, it is much more suitable for this purpose than a heavier leather thong would be (141).

141. In his time, Snow (a):II, 16 called attention to it: "The ropes they had to fasten their canoes were made of grass rudely platted" /cited in English/.

501 462 The few items listed here, oar, hearth, scoop, and rope are necessary adjuncts or accessories of the vessel. /Fig. 31 appears here./ The woman has charge of them also, and she sees to their replacements so that she will not at some time be seriously embarrassed or endangered.

/452/ δ. Its Efficiency

505 Their restless, wandering life forces the Yamana to carry with them wherever they go all their material possessions, without exception. These do not necessarily belong to the canoe, but no one can part with them. They are distributed in such a way that the man keeps his weapons in the bow, and the woman has all the other implements and little baskets, skins, and pieces of meat in the stern. The children occupy the center section; except for the insignificant trifles which they hang on their bodies, they do not possess anything. The canoe as such is extremely light and is, therefore, not suitable for transporting loads. Although it is hard to say definitely how much the articles necessary to the adults weigh, it is obvious that it cannot be much. At most, a large sea lion that a man has killed is loaded on.

The number of people that a given canoe can accommodate depends on their weight and the existing weather conditions. They

/455 cont./

396 one man or another will build a canoe. If he has observed that the vessel he built only the previous spring will hardly last out the winter, he sets about early enough, that is, in the fall, to make a new one. He does not take great pains with it, since the bark is not as good in the fall and in any case he will commence a new and better one in the spring. This is the only explanation for Bridges' assertion (i):23 that "the canoes are made twice a year in the spring and autumn. The former are called hákua, the latter Een-ánan [better kísajánan] i.e. Winter Canoe. The natives are specially careful to make the latter well" /cited in English/. Spring is actually the time when the great majority of families make a new vessel (p. 115).

504 /456/ Through the years every man acquires some skill in this work, but this fact alone does not prevent him from treating his canoe most carefully and giving it his utmost attention. If he should lose it in the course of the year, he and his family would be in serious difficulty, sometimes in danger of starving. Heavy blows against rocks and tree trunks are particularly damaging because the bark sections break or tear. Rubbing against pebbles and sand soon causes the bottom and the threads of the seam to be scraped through. For this reason, the vessel is often kept in the open channel after the family has been brought to shore by the woman. Wherever the gently sloping beach permits, they make a sort of toboggan slide of damp Macrocystis algae over which they drag the canoe and upon which it rests. When boarding the canoe, everyone places his foot very carefully; in fact, everyone avoids any jolt and violent movement, for the seams easily burst and the seam threads become more brittle the older they are. In loading and unloading large objects are handled gently and cautiously.

422 462 Even though the man makes the canoe almost entirely by himself, it is not regarded as his property; the woman uses it and takes care of it. The man gives it to her, and it actually belongs to her or to the entire family. All the duties during the trip, as well as before and after, are her responsibility. She

462 502 alone paddles. Squatting in the rear third of the vessel, close against the right side, she grasps the oar shaft with both hands, the left above the right, and pushes the oar diagonally backwards

/456 cont./
with a slight S-shaped movement in the water. This propels the canoe forward and gives it a definite direction at the same time. Paddling is made more difficult because the woman cannot brace her feet against anything and because she does not have a special seat. Also, she does not support her arms against the gunwale, but holds them entirely free. This is one explanation for the unusually powerful development of the upper part of her body (p. 219 /untranslated/). As a rule she alone paddles (148).

148. Hence it is an exaggeration when Hyades (q):352 maintains that "the canoe is usually propelled with two paddles, each of which is manipulated by a woman in the large center section" /translated from French/.

If she needs help in a rough sea or when speed is required, she asks another woman or her grown daughter to take an oar. The other woman then paddles on the left side of the boat. Through daily practice, every woman learns to handle an oar skillfully. BD:32 uses the word atégaatas, "clever in paddling" /cited in English/. She also decides how the cargo is to be loaded or unloaded and distributed, what seat each child is to have, and who is to bail out the water and tend the fire.

If we consider everything that falls to her in the way of privileges and duties, she seems to be the sole ruler of the canoe. Her husband would not presume to compete for this privileged position of hers on the water nor tell her what to do. On shore the two agree on the course of the trip, /457/ and en route the husband expresses his particular wishes if game should approach, but the piloting and servicing of the vessel is entirely in her hands. If it should be necessary, she even requests him to leave his place at the bow and to sit near her and help her with the paddling. Every vessel has at least two paddles. She helps to make repairs, except in the case of larger tasks, such as putting in a side section, which are the responsibility of the man. Her constant duty is to renew the calking, for in the continual dampness, moss and grass, rushes, and algae rot quickly.

/457 cont./

396 Man and wife have their special share in the vessel; he
462 builds it, and she keeps it in repair. Circumstances are such
[425] that every family owns only a single canoe, which is why it must be guarded all the more carefully (149). One canoe is never

149. Hyades (q):352 confirms that "the Fuegians take the greatest care of their canoes" /translated from French/. Others are of the same opinion.

exactly like another in all details, although they are all built according to the same pattern. Differences in size are determined by the available raw material, and some men are far more skillful than their neighbors. The term wáalina is used for a man
[476] who would find it difficult to build a canoe. The men help each other in building it, and one man repays the other for his services with weapons or other valuable objects. No Yamana would hire himself out as a carpenter, but he does work for a close relative who is sick and helpless. From what has been said, we realize that the canoe is a vital and absolutely indispensable object for these Fuegians (150).

[439] 150. In the middle of 1868 Bridges, who was then a young man, brought two bark canoes to England. It was said that one of these was meant for a boy, the other for a girl. Actually these were models which, as such, had been ordered from an Indian. After that our Fuegians many times offered such small models for sale to Europeans. The two boat models mentioned above were described in detail in the "Illustrated London News" of August 18, 1868 (MM:III, 38; 1869). Many museums have good pieces of this kind.

/489 cont./

227 mussel fork. There is a complete description of it elsewhere, as well as a discussion of how it is used.

[824] The bark of a small, straight trunk of the evergreen beech is scraped off and the surface made octagonal. For the part that is added on, the natives choose a small, thick stem of the large barberry, huma, the particular suitability of which has been repeatedly described. They split it crosswise two-thirds of its total length, and the four prongs are pried apart with two small, short wooden plugs. These prongs are tapered to blunt ends. The other end, after it has been suitably cut off, is lashed tight to the shaft with a strap or with a small cord of braided rushes. Colini: 161 describes a specimen, the total length of which is 3.25 meters; most of them are not longer. The thinner it is, the more suitable.

226 The Indian woman slides this long fork perpendicularly into the depths from her canoe and pushes the prongs into the round, flat calcareous shell of the so-called cephalothorax of a crab. The pressure and construction which these prongs cause among the broken particles prevent the whole animal from sliding off when it is being drawn up, no matter how actively it wriggles with its long legs. In the canoe the Indian woman strips it off the prongs with her feet while she holds the crab fork perpendicularly in her hands, whereupon the animal falls to the bottom of the boat.

[462] It is, of course, again the duty of the husband to make this crab fork for his wife. While he is working on the shaft, he protects his hand with a special piece of leather (Fig. 28).

/490/ ♂. The Fishline

The tender, fresh meat of fish is a welcome change for the Yamana in their somewhat monotonous diet. Sometimes the man throws a spear toward a larger fish that is resting in a shallow cove or that elsewhere affords a sure target. Much more often the Indian woman is busy with her fishline which she merely slips into the water from her canoe, never from the beach and still less by means of any kind of long fishing rod.

/502 cont./

415 water from nearby streams and lagoons in the large bark buckets (216).

216. These bark receptacles are mentioned and described in Cañas Pinochet:358, Dabbene (b):181, Hyades (q):307, Lothrop (b):131, Martial:192, Spegazzini (a):163, Wieghardt: 27, and others.

11. Baskets

The baskets are excellently adapted for collecting and storing the always wet shellfish. These baskets lie around in the huts and in the canoes /503/ of our Fuegians in larger numbers than /Fig. 49 appears here/ among the Selk'nam. [422 462] They are the property of the woman because they were made by her. Only women and girls, less often boys, reach for them when mussels and snails, berries, and fruits are to be gathered; a man never carries a basket in his hand.

285 Judged according to weaving technique, our Indians have three different kinds. I believe I must adhere to this grouping, although Lothrop (b):138 speaks of four kinds. Below, a net-like container, čaɯwénux, čaɯwénnuš, will be described, which he and others regard as a basket.

[824]

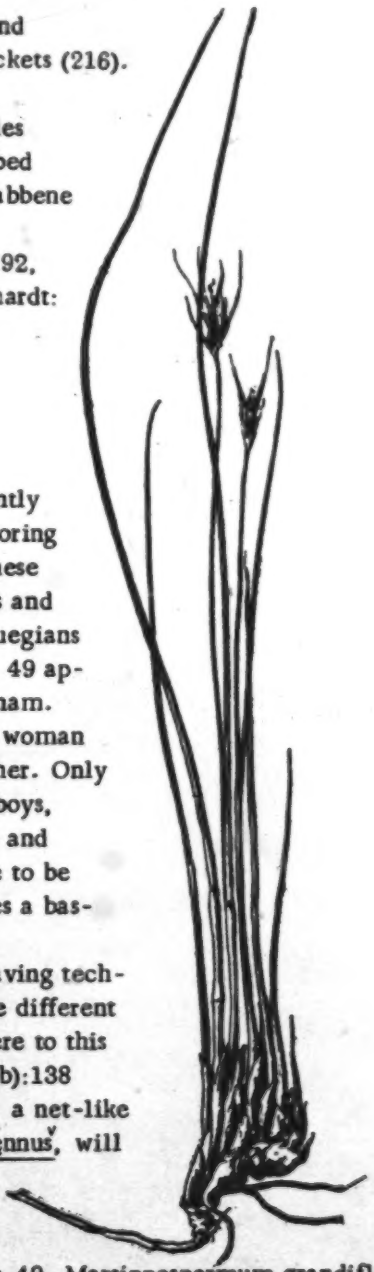

Fig. 49. Marsippospermum grandiflorum.

/512 cont./

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is of food, naturally; and their habits are formed with a view to supply it, and all their implements are to serve in procuring it...Hence are they constantly roaming" /cited in English/.

Food gathering in the widest sense of the term is, after all, the sole and true occupation of our natives. If this exertion were not always obligatory and without exception unavoidable for everyone, there would be great danger that their physical and spiritual well-being would languish. Their work never leads to weakness or to a lessening of their ability. Quite the contrary, despite weariness and exhaustion, despite strain and extreme exertion which are sometimes recurrent, the man's hunting and the woman's collecting are so attractive and stimulating, so satisfying and filled with success for the victor, that these things alone make every adult uncomplainingly accept the unavoidable hardships of making a living, and this decreases the pressure of their cares about their daily food. This strain is further reduced by the unfailing prospect of their always finding, here or there and relatively easily, what is absolutely necessary.

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Both sexes contribute their share to the support of the family, which consists of father, mother, and children. Not everyone contributes to the same extent, however, but in the manner appropriate to his sex. The woman more than the man is tied down by unavoidable duties in her hut where she must take care of the welfare of her children. What the man accomplishes in one field, she does in another; both partners are, on the whole, provided equally with obligations, and their co-operation assures the well-being of the individual family.

Even at first glance it seems natural for the man to take over the exertions of the hunt requiring strength and for the woman to busy herself with the easier collecting of smaller things (229).

229. Hyades (h):23 has clearly pointed out this division of labor: "Everything connected with the hunt and even the cutting up of the dead animal is the exclusive occupation of the man, just as we have seen that fishing is

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/512 cont./

exclusively confined to the women" /translated from French/. The word "fishing" here means the gathering and catching of small sea animals.

This division of labor is an ancient law of custom. This is true no less of the planned way in which both sexes carry on their activities, which goes back to the very beginnings of this ethnic group.

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It can be proved that the customary methods of hunting have been handed down unchanged from father to son; they guarantee sure success with little effort. The indigenous animals have also /513/ retained their habits and the hunter is dependent upon these if he wishes to attain his booty. With the exception of the guanaco which appears in only a small section of the Yamana country, the Indian stalks only the inhabitants of the sea, which is the reason why he cannot do without his canoe. Hence the latter is a vital method of transportation for him.

His wishes, however, are not directed toward anything and everything that the unfathomable sea contains. He consciously makes some selection among the animals, no matter how little freedom he has to begin with and how limited, after all, the number of useful animal species is. This applies even more to the gathering activity of the woman. Mother Nature is very stingy with the products of the vegetable kingdom, that man can use for food down there on the border of habitable territory. The lower animals are abundantly represented. They provide a considerable addition to subsistence, and gathering them is a constant, convenient occupation of the woman (230). How she goes about it and

230. Bridges (e):331 comments in general on their means of obtaining food. Bove (e):157 says: "The sea furnishes the staples of their diet in the form of fish, mussels, crabs, seals, and aquatic birds; furthermore, in the summer they find about 20 varieties of edible mushrooms in the woods and a few edible grasses." Compare Bove (g):234.

/519 cont./

225 If the many men succeed in actually killing the whale, they haul it ashore. They build their huts beside it and feast on the rich booty. Sometimes, however, the sick whale does not stay in the same place, but swims farther away. Most families try [462] to follow it. While the women steer the light vessel, the men thrust their large harpoons deep into its body and let out the long lassos, the ends of which they grasp securely with both hands. The whale then pulls the canoe after it. Now a very daring ride begins! If the whale dives down to considerable depths or accelerates his flight, every man must release the rope at the dangerous moment. He loses his weapon, but at least saves his own life and that of his family. Perhaps the hunted animal will reappear again within available distance; then the men /520/ attack it with renewed courage. As long as a chance of success beckons, they are after it, exposing themselves to utmost mortal danger, for to be deprived of this great booty means considerable loss to them, to say nothing of the many weapons they have sacrificed in vain.

Their hunting prospects are somewhat more favorable when they are pursuing a whale being chased by a grampus, ĕpắjaˇci (Orca magellanica). In this case their boldness is far more dangerous. It is well known that the above-mentioned animal makes a habit of attacking younger, smaller whales. With his powerful back fin, he strikes and jabs against the whale which can only seek refuge in flight. It makes for narrow channels and shallow bays. Its pursuer hastens after it and even wounds it badly. The whale tries to help himself by frequent leaps out of the water (p. 37 /untranslated/). The Indians are very familiar with this (242).

242. Dabbene (a):34 writes about this in detail.

The ĕpắjaˇci is accompanied not only by a few of its own species, but even more by smaller related animals; he is regarded as the "master" whom the others of his "people" hasten after. When the whale realizes he is being cornered, he approaches the coast in his despair. Now the many followers become plainly visible; before that they had often surfaced. The badly wounded whale

/537 cont./

224 to the superior number and the rage of his opponents. After the
23/ Indian has skinned the fox, he tosses the entire body to his dogs; he very decidedly scorns this meat.

22 Among the few species of mammals on the Cape Horn Archipelago, seals occupy first place in the food quest of the Yamana. /538/ They are hunted not only because of their meat, but because their skins are urgently needed. The very desirable whale is primarily regarded as an occasional present that provides for many families over a long period. In comparison the guanaco is much less important because it is locally confined, and the otter actually furnishes only its skin. Tracking down a fox is a matter for the dogs. The many bird species that the Indian hunts could hardly be dispensed with in his household. Sometimes he is wholly dependent on them alone.

5. The Woman in the Food Quest

462 Among the Yamana, man and wife form an economic cooperative, and it is especially in the matter of obtaining food that they are dependent on one another. The woman, of course, does not take an active part in the hunt, which is regarded as a vital duty of the man, but she sometimes helps him indirectly by means of absolutely necessary knacks. She, as mistress of the canoe, takes him to those places where he wants to try his luck and go after game. She shares with him the difficulties of perilous crossings and long watches through the hours of the night when he devotes himself to catching birds. Finally, she brings him, along with his booty, to a safe place where both of them can enjoy a well-earned rest after all their trouble and exertions.

Far beyond the limited participation of the man in procuring food, she makes a considerable, altogether independent contribution to the support of her family by means of an activity that she alone can carry on. This is gathering, for which she is equipped by nature and to which she can devote herself without jeopardizing her more important duties as mother and wife. This activity is actually an important supplement to her husband's hunting activities. It is her duty to bring in lower animals and vegetable products.

/538 cont./

462 She could not avoid this obligation of ancient custom without serious disadvantage to her family. This brings her into definite contrast with the Selk'nam woman (Vol. I, 288). No matter how faithfully and abundantly the man provides his family with meat from the indigenous animals hunted, the woman, through her special gathering activities, must give her family all those products of nature to which her husband and children are entitled by rights of custom. Under no pretext could a woman consciously avoid this duty. If she were generally lazy in this pursuit or even [558] occasionally negligent, she could expect to be severely criticized by her own husband and held in serious contempt by the whole neighborhood.

462 593 Precisely because there must be a woman in the economic activity of the individual family, husband and children are absolutely dependent upon her. This relationship alone explains the favorable and influential position that she enjoys in her family circle. How much she actually accomplishes /539/ and to what extent she is able, by herself, to keep her family alive become evident when her husband is sick or when she is widowed. Then the entire responsibility of food-seeking rests on her shoulders alone, and she nevertheless provides so well that no one suffers deprivation.

462 Fortunately, in her activity as food-gatherer she has access not only to an abundant supply of one kind, but even to a not inconsiderable choice. She comes home with this and that, bringing a welcome variety into the monotonous meat diet. She can, of course, take from nature only what the latter voluntarily produces and as it is offered, for the harsh climate near the dreaded Cape Horn permits neither agriculture nor animal husbandry (263). The woman herself has invented or learned to make

263. An older account (VSA:XII, 81; 1866) says briefly that the natives "do not till the ground, and have no cattle, nor horses, nor sheep, nor goats in their country" /cited in English/. The experiences of the Mission Scientifique, which Hyades (g):6 describes (p. 32 /untranslated/), show that gardening does not pay there.

/539 cont./

462 the few and simple implements that make gathering easier for her. All of them are very functional and testify to a practical good sense. As a result, the procuring of food never becomes a burdensome task to the woman. She takes the great majority of her produce from the animal kingdom, but the vegetable kingdom, too, offers her some things which she finds welcome now and then.

a. Food From the Animal Kingdom

226 1. Mussels. On the rocky shore-line of the many islands are dense colonies of mussels. There are two kinds (Mytilus chilensis) ẽ uf and kẽčoin (Mytilus edulis) that cover broad areas along a slightly sloping, stony bottom (p. 44 /untranslated/) (264). They

264. Hyades (q):23 was astonished at the unfathomable riches of shellfish, especially mussles, in Orange Bay. George Forster (a):II, 378 writes that in Seno Año Nuevo "the rocks along the shore were covered with large mussels (Mytilus edulis), the meat of which seemed tastier to us than that of the best oysters." One finds the same abundance, more or less, throughout the entire Yamana region.

do not go beyond the highest water level, hence almost every low tide covers them. The deepest layers are not even uncovered at lowest ebb tide and consist of larger specimens. These mussels thrive best and attain unusual size in places where there are constant small eddies and restless waves or currents. The Yamana are acquainted with every little spot of their country and each tiny corner of their coasts. They often come back to the same spot, move about anew over the same course, and find their way again in local conditions without any trouble.

The most dense, cluster-like accumulations of large mussels can actually be reached only at low tide with the canoe. Their meat is not only fresh and tasty, but yields a rich morsel. /540/ /Fig. 61 appears here./ Hence the woman is willing to take the

/546 cont./

226 Although in general fish adds a welcome change to the monotonous diet of the Indian, it is by no means of real significance for his nourishment. Referring to this, Hyades (h):14 has very much exaggerated. For example, no one touches the representatives of the order Harpagifer, tăpun, tĕppun, although they would be very easy to catch. They are about as long as one's hand and have a broad head. They remain in the residual pools and cling to wet stones when the tide recedes.

[962] It is exclusively the woman's occupation and task to fish with a line for certain smaller salt-water species. A man would never do this. The women use two different kinds of lines (see Hyades [q]:303). They fish with a line throughout the year, but only when the sea is calm (279). The woman makes the very simple

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279. To say that a woman fishes only "three months," that is, in summer with its long days, as Hyades does (q): 370, is unjustified.

[824] line (Fig. 63) herself. She chooses a long pencil thick stem of the easily obtainable large brown alga (Macrocystis pyrifera) and removes the few branches by snipping them off lightly with her fingernail. In this way she produces an almost smooth thread, tuina, tĕkĕpuwa. Since it is elastic, it can be easily wound into a loose coil. In the shade it dries only partially so that it remains slightly damp. Any dull-colored, flattened, irregular stone about the size of a pocket watch will do as a sinker (280). The line is

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280. In an emergency the woman will even use a longish, stone spear-point as a sinker. This may have led some less careful observers to conclude that the Yamana use actual fish hooks such as are employed elsewhere.

wound around it and knotted so that the free end hangs down a few centimeters /547/ below it. This end is finished off with a small knot, into which is fastened a fiber from the quill of a stout bird feather, about ten centimeters long and four millimeters wide. The quill tapers somewhat /Fig. 63 appears here/ at the bottom and ends in a running knot that holds the bait. The latter consists

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/550 cont./

Four kinds, -- or rather five -- of fish are found in company with the sprats, which are decidedly larger than those found around the coasts of England. These five kinds of larger fish are excellent in flavour and richness, and their livers supply the natives with abundance of oil during the season... The noise made by the approaching myriads of fish was like that of quickly rippling water; we could even hear it, though some 400 yards off" /cited in English/.

When this procession comes up the beach, the Indians first pick the larger animals out of the abundant masses, and not until later do they tackle the inexhaustible abundance of small fish. It is obvious that dense swarms of birds which also feed immoderately can now be easily caught. We can understand what extraordinary joy such a swarm of fish with its varied accompaniment evokes among the Yamana (290), for it gives them a superfluity

290. Bridges (j):25 says: "As regards fish, these are found at seasons in immense quantities" /cited in English/. Thus, the amount of fish varies slightly with the seasons.

to choose from for several days. Moreover, it is offered them in an easy way; indeed, it is scattered over a wide, flat beach. All hands, of course, help themselves to the gay profusion, although here, too, the usual division of labor prevails whereby the men try to get the larger animals while the women alone, supported by the girls, scoop the small fish into their baskets with their cupped hands. Everyone is busily collecting, for the harvest lasts only a few days at this richly laid table. Soon considerable amounts of the fish strewn about the beach are washed away by the tide, and the sea birds contribute to the diminution by their

/551 cont./

226 now filled with fish, drop gently off with its contents. The basket is turned upside-down, the fish emptied, and without delay it is stuck onto the pole once more. Agility is now demanded, for the fish shoal quickly passes. No hands can be idle (292)!

292. Hyades (q):372 also briefly describes this mass catch with the loosely woven basket at the thick end of a short pole.

[462] Only the women are busy with all this, for the man meanwhile seeks to catch the larger accompanying animals with his weapon. Sometimes, however, he, too, takes the pole with the loosely woven basket if the woman has grown tired or is otherwise occupied. In less than an hour the occupants of a canoe, if they keep busy, can fill it so full of booty that they must head for shore. Quickly they take the many animals to their huts and set out again, for they know that the larger the shoal is, the /552/ more quickly it will be pushed out again into the open sea. They cannot draw uninterruptedly upon the abundance of the large swarm for more than one whole day. After the exertion of such great haste, they can feast for days on the varied booty and meanwhile rest up thoroughly.

226 462 We have just mentioned the fact that the man sometimes also takes part in fishing (293). Fishing with a line, as we have

293. The general rule set up by Bridges (a):201 long before is true, namely, "men very seldom help their wives to catch fish" /cited in English/. Fishing is woman's work.

said, is an exclusive task of the woman, but when the swarms of ílɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ̈i approach, he sometimes also takes up the čauwénux. He alone, however, drives a spear or a small harpoon into the body of a larger fish. He is stimulated to this action when dense masses of ílɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ̈i are escorted by large fish that are often lifted above the surface of the water and brought quite close to him. If the wood or bone point of the missile penetrates deeply into the fish, it is badly hampered in its movements and falls helplessly into the man's hands. Large robalos (Eleginus maclovinus)

/552 cont./

226 462 like to hover at the bottom of shallow inlets in the sunshine. These are also easy to spear from a rock or from the canoe and can afterwards be easily hauled in (294).

294. Hyades (h):20 refers to Fitz-Roy (a):184 and adds: The Yamana "Take large fish with the saw-toothed harpoon" /translated from French/.

In exceptional cases the men also build weirs. They decide to do this when there are several families assembled and it is impossible to travel on, but a shortage of food threatens. An ómmaku, wyépa is a hastily erected woven construction consisting of short sticks driven into the ground and longer interwoven rods, the whole filled in with dense brush. The weir is never more than a meter high. They are placed in narrow inlets or, preferably, in narrow brooks running into a broad channel (295). During an incoming

295. I noted the same construction, here and there, among the Halakwulup.

tide, depending on the water level, the entire brushwork is filled in only when the tide is highest, or only a small top strip is put along the whole width of the hurdle at high tide. In other circumstances the center is left open, being blocked off only at the beginning of ebb tide, depending on whether the whole weir is wide or narrow. At the lowest ebb the fish are held back and can be caught with the hands or killed with sticks. Weirs are used very little, because, as I was told, they can be erected only amid all kinds of inconveniences and because they do not promise sure success (296). Fishing with a line, however, is always most

296. Hyades (h):17 is the only European observer who mentions weirs. See also further pertinent data in Cooper:109 and Hyades (q):372.

successful and, by comparison, requires little effort. Indeed, it affords the woman a certain amount of rest in her /553/ active

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daily tasks. Hence every other type of fishing, with the exception of the occasional mass-catch of [illegible], is avoided as much as possible (297).

297. According to Hyades (b):20: "...the ease with which they get fish among the large algae relieves them of all the work of making a fishing pen" /translated from French/, and the same is equally true of similar arrangements.

8. Birds. Birds' eggs are also counted among the foods from the animal kingdom by our Fuegian natives. Earlier travelers, for example, Fitz-Roy (a):184, often observed that "eggs are eagerly sought for by the natives" /cited in English/. Spring is the time for them. Wherever the family lands, the girls and women hunt for the nests of larger birds. They do not choose among them, nor does it bother them if the eggs have been sat on for some time. Their hunt is, without exception, rewarded by a rich harvest, for they are very familiar with the brooding places of all kinds of birds. Gathering is very easy where penguins brood, for they lay large eggs. The women bring their harvest to the canoe or the hut in their little baskets, and it is promptly consumed. They never risk any special dangers in order to obtain birds' eggs.

At the beginning of summer they also take young birds of large species still in the nest. They kill the tender animal by hitting it on the head with a stone or stick or by beating it hard against a rock. Above all, when they search out the breeding places of cormorants and penguins, they quickly fill their baskets with this game. Young cormorants cannot escape beyond the immediate vicinity of their nest because their wings cannot as yet carry them from the height of their nest into the sea, and penguins are likewise nest-bound because they do not yet know how to move in the water.

For entertainment and out of playfulness, the women also like to take an occasional young bird to their hut where they feed it until it is full-grown. If it proves tame enough, it is

1: Gamble--278 E-6 (1918-1934) 1937 5086 Yahgan 5098

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23| kept alive, otherwise it is one day devoured. This explains why in early summer in the huts of the Indians we find at least half a dozen young birds, all very familiar with each other, although they usually belong to different species. They belong to the family (198), so to speak, and are a plaything for children.

198. Lothrop (b):118 "has seen young upland geese and gulls thus tamed" /cited in English/.

B. Food From the Vegetable Kingdom

263 The inclement weather of the Cape Horn Archipelago permits only a few types of plants to reach maturity, and the soil yields only a very few things that the Indian can use for food. A vegetable diet has no basic significance for them. It would be inaccurate to speak of actual subsistence on the vegetable kingdom. The Indian gets only a small taste from it now and then, which, as such, is unnutritious and, in /584/ comparison with his meat consumption, quite unimportant (199). Mother Nature

199. Fitz-Roy (a):185 expressed himself very definitely on this point: "Of vegetable food they have very little: a few berries, cranberries, and those which grow on the arbutus, and a kind of fungus which is found on the birch-tree, being the only kind used" /cited in English/.

voluntarily offers him fungi and berries of various kinds, and these, as we realize, are mere condiments. They are gathered only by women and girls; men strip off a few fruits in passing and immediately pop them into their mouths without any kind of preparation.

263 222 262 1. Fungi. If we consider the conditions of vegetation in the Tierra del Fuego region, we are not surprised to find a great abundance of mushrooms and fungi there. /Fig. 66 appears here./ There are no very poisonous kinds. Some are spongy; others have a woody

222 /564 cont./
[564] texture. These do not tempt the Indian since the supply of tasty fungi is large enough as it is, and he does not care for them particularly. Everywhere one finds goodly quantities of a few Cyttaria species, among which Cyttaria darwinii Berk. is the most common. The latter is in general known as tóll, when it is ripe it is called apéfis. It grows on the protuberances or excrescences (Fig. 66) of a particular spot on the beech branch, known as amúf or ihumúf. Each of these fungi reaches the size of a green, unripe walnut and is absolutely round and yellowish-white. One is right next to another, and they break off at the slightest touch. Women and girls break them off from the branches they can reach with their arms. After they have combed a particular area of the forest for them, the woman asks her grown son or even her husband to help her gather the ones on the higher branches. For decency's sake females are not permitted to climb trees or walk over branches; the men are called in to do this. The latter pick the fungi with their hands and toss them down, or they pick them off with their toes and drop them. Women gather them up and carry them in little baskets to the hut (300).

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Fig. 66. Beech Branch with Growth. One-half natural size.

300. Bridges (MM:VII, 120;1873) once mentions that an adult male Yamana gathered these fungi and brought them to the camp. If he was alone in doing this, it is a rare and exceptional case.

222. With the exception of the brief period of mid-summer, the Cyttaria darwinii are always found on trees and are edible in any

/554 cont./

222 phase of development during all the other months (301).

301. Outes (g):52 has collected descriptions of this type of fungus from the pens of several observers. In addition to this there are data by Spencer: 64, 100, 103.

/555/ A less widespread variety, and fully matured only in the autumn, is ašim, Cyttaria harioti F. BD:46 writes ŏšuyim, "a small dark brown pear-shaped fungus which grow in clusters out of an excrescence which forms on the wood like a band" /cited in English/. This yellowish-brown, pear-shaped fungus, ranging in size from an orange seed to the seed of a small wild cherry, appears in rows on thin branches of the Antarctic beech. One can very easily strip off the whole row with one's half-closed hand and catch them in a small basket. The black uškēyon mēma (Cyttaria hookeri Berk.) is still smaller, the shape and size of a grape seed. It likewise forms on beech branches in rows.

[162] Although women and girls like to pick these two kinds, it is not their habit to gather them and bring them to the hut; they eat a few handfuls on the spot. The men do likewise, but less often. The ašim (Cyttaria haroti) is much preferred to the other.

Other types of fungi are of less importance to the Indian woman than ēšēf (Cyttaria darwinii). The latter is easy to obtain along the edge of the forest, whereas the other kinds are to be found chiefly or almost exclusively inside, in dark shade and in thickets. Women almost never go that far, or perhaps only to fetch wood, but they almost never go deep into the forest just to gather fungi. The large tree fungi, áman, are valued the most as long as they are still soft and meaty, and among these yēlus above all, which, according to BD:649, is "a soft, watery, and large flesh-colored fungus" /cited in English/.

262 The Fuegian eats about ten kinds of fungi (302), but I am

302. Bridges mentions "one very important item in the food of these people, which is fungus, of which there are about twenty varieties, some one or more of which are all

262 /557 cont./
himself. For instance, he says (MM:III, 116;1869): "Though celery abounds everywhere, they never use of it" /cited in English/; in BD the root of this plant is several times and very definitely referred to by him as an "edible root" /cited in English/.

[252] Some people like to roast the celery root at the fire and then chew on it.

It can be seen from these accounts that plant food is seldom 222 462 eaten by the Yamana, hence it is almost always a single individual who sets out to look for it if he feels a desire for it. It would be unjustified, therefore, to maintain that the gathering of such plants is a special activity of the woman.

A cursory review of the contribution of the Indian woman to the subsistence of her family makes us realize that she performs an important service, mainly through gathering shellfish. The things she collects not only bring necessary variety into the monotonous meat diet furnished by the man, but seem indispensable at certain times when hunting is impossible. With her diligent gathering the woman very often saves her family from suffering considerable hunger.

/558/ 6. The Food Quest throughout the Year

182 In their manner of living and above all in everything they must provide for their sustenance, our Yamana are and will remain inescapably dependent on their environment. They have adjusted to this inevitable pressure in all their economic adaptations, not the least in their implements and weapons. Darwin (d):248 confirms this in his own way: "Nature, which has made custom an irresistible force and its effects hereditary, has adapted the Fuegian to the climate and the products of his miserable fatherland." The causative factor in the two explanations is essentially different.

181 The mental attitude or disposition of this Indian group, however, also betrays an unmistakable conformity with their area of

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181 will regard his hunting effort as completely hopeless, but not infrequently that is just the time when his booty is more than abundant. Complete satisfaction grows out of the success of which the Indian is confident from the start, and this further increases his reliance on his own ability.

182 Naturally, the drive toward restless wandering coincides abstractly with his adopted form of economic management. In Tierra del Fuego agriculture and animal husbandry in a form which our natives would be obliged to choose would be simply impossible. They have no choice but to gather and hunt what nature offers them voluntarily. Now, game animals are driven away from the spot where one of them has been killed. Similarly, it is advisable for a woman to change the place of her gathering activity as soon as possible. Thus, as a matter of principle, a family remains in one place only as long as the meat from one of the larger /614/ animals lasts. If the family is dependent solely upon mussels, they set out even sooner. They do not stay more than an average of two or three days in the same place. Advantageously, the Yamana travel in very small groups, usually as individual families, sometimes with a second or third family. They separate again after a short distance, because personal safety, of which everyone is conscious, drives them toward complete independence and unrestricted freedom.

2. Underway in the Canoe

462 502 The only and indispensable means of transportation of our Indians is their bark canoe. Since it is lightly constructed, the woman is not excessively burdened by paddling. The canoe belongs to her. Although the man must build it, the care of it is left to her alone (415). She takes this very seriously, for the

415. Bridges (MM:III, 115;1869) writes: "Canoes are always under the charge of the women, who paddle them from place to place, and spend much of their time in them" /cited in English/, namely, on the unavoidable trips.

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462 loss of the canoe endangers the life of the whole family. She
502 repairs damage as soon as possible (416), or, if there is major

> 416. "It is chiefly the task of the woman to keep the canoe, this article which is absolutely indispensable for the existence of the Fuegian, in repair, and we always see her busy calking the cracks with half-rotten twigs and sewing together the individual pieces" (Hyades [g]:38).

work to be done, asks her husband to do it. Throughout the entire trip she alone attends the canoe; however, if there is a heavy sea, she requests her husband or other occupants to assist. She keeps the boys tending the fire and delegates to the girls the task of bailing out the water that seeps in. After landing, when the dogs have leaped out, when her husband and the children have disembarked, and all their belongings have been brought to shore, she must finally moor the vessel. Bridges (MM:III, 115; 1869) expresses very definitely what the bark canoe means for the Fuegian family: "The canoe is the most valuable property an Indian possesses, by it he travels from place to place, and with its assistance he obtains the chief part of his food...Canoes are used daily" /cited in English/.

502 On the trip itself every member of the family has his particular seat. The man squats in the bow; his spear and harpoon lie beside him and protrude far beyond the bow, easy to grasp and handy, with the bone point forward (p. 128). The children are distributed in the lower center part around the fire and between the low, small piles of wood. The woman occupies the entire stern by herself and paddles, first on one side, then on the other, usually on her right side. She grasps the single paddle with both hands and moves it in the water, not with a stroke, but with more of a stirring and short pushing motion. She lifts it diagonally out of the water and /615/ lowers it almost perpendicularly into the water when she prepares for the next stroke. This peculiar manipulation of the paddle is simultaneously rowing and steering (417).

> 417. Paddling has to be learned. Then it is,

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as Hyades (g):38 correctly judges, "work that is not too hard, since the canoes, made exclusively out of the bark of the birch-leaved beech, are marvelously light."

This work is a great strain on the entire upper part of the body, for the legs are neither braced nor do they offer support, and the arms do not rest on the rim of the canoe, yet bear the entire strain of free paddling (418). In the vessel all the occupants must squat

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418. Hence the slight development of the legs in contrast to the sturdy torso of the healthy, active women (p. 219 /untranslated/).

close together deep in the bottom, with their legs tucked under. Its center of gravity is very high, even when it is loaded to capacity, and it would easily tip over if the balance were disturbed. Children are told that they should bend their heads and the upper part of their bodies low; usually they lift themselves only high enough for their eyes to reach the level of the gunwale (419).

419. The words of Lovisato (b):134 are to a certain extent correct: "In this canoe the Fuegians remain in such a position that only their heads may be seen, a position identical with the one they maintain in the wigwam" /translated from Italian/.

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Before the family leaves the shore, man and wife have agreed on the goal of the journey or the course. She now steers toward this while he constantly is on the lookout for game. If an animal comes into view, he tells his wife and reaches for his spear or harpoon (420). As the vessel nears the animal, he slowly stands

420. The division of labor within the family is thus clearly expressed. Aspinall:270 refers to this: "Each canoe holds one family; the

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/615 cont./ women row and the man is on the look-out with raised javelin."

up and, at the appropriate moment, throws his weapon. Only the perfectly synchronized co-operation of both of them assures the success of the hunt, and every married couple achieves absolute perfection in this in the course of the years. When they pursue a wounded animal, the woman must occasionally exercise extraordinary strength. She is equipped for it by the habit of almost daily paddling.

502 If the family has been rewarded with unexpected luck in the hunt or if they are very tired from the pursuit of an animal, they sometimes suddenly decide to land at the nearest good place. The most suitable site is a flat, gently sloping beach, covered with coarse pebbles, in a calm inlet. The woman does not let the canoe run aground, since all friction is to be avoided. She holds the bow steady at right angles to the shore while the inmates disembark one after the other (421) and /616/ toss all the implements

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421. Only exceptionally, in case the man is ill and cannot walk, does Aspinall's:270 assertion hold: "In leaving the canoe, the woman must first carry the man ashore. He carefully holds the firebrand, protected between sticks of wood, above water, and begins first of all to erect a primitive hut." As a rule, however, the landing proceeds as described above and, for example, as is described in La Nature:274.

along with all the provisions onto the shore. One of the children carries a glowing stick of wood to the place that the father has pointed out to the child as the chosen campsite. The girls usually do this. The adults make sure that the last sparks of the fire in the canoe have been extinguished. Meanwhile the Indian woman remains seated in her canoe and keeps it on the same spot by paddling. When everything has been unloaded, she still has to moor it. If the landing place is suitable, a layer of Macrocystis

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502 causes it to rock, and this makes the uninitiated feel very insecure. Several times (p. 129) I rode in a true bark canoe and never dared to move. In it one is in a state of precarious balance, and the higher the center of gravity of the vessel and the less firmly one can brace himself, the more sensitive he is to every movement. Stirling described his experience in March, 1864: "A person accustomed to the firm seat of a boat is likely to feel a nervous sensation in these frail barks. The squatting position helps on the sensation a little" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 238; 1864).

502 462 Since the boat trips are unavoidably necessary for Yamana economic life and since they occupy more or less half the year, we can appreciate the active participation of the woman. Despard (b):696 proves this emphatically: "Women do the paddling; they also have entire charge of the canoe, when once made; it is to the Fireland woman what the house is to her civilized sister, her chief place of employment" /cited in English/. The canoe is, so to speak, the center of her entire day's work, and no matter how much she likes to be in her hut temporarily, she nevertheless feels most comfortable in her boat. If
502 the journey is to continue in the morning, the entire family helps her drag it from the landing place into the water. If it was moored out in the channel, she must swim out, no matter how cold the tide. She climbs in, loosens the strong algae stems, and rows to shore. Here all the implements and possessions are loaded up again, and glowing wood embers are placed in the center for a low fire. After all the persons and dogs have boarded, /619/ the Indian woman steers her vessel toward the goal agreed upon. She is able to paddle for many hours without becoming overtired, for she takes advantage of the propelling force of the waves and air currents as much as possible. The bark canoe is extremely easy to move, and constant occupation with it becomes a sort of game (431).

431. Phillips (a):1011 is the only one who mentions the following general observation: "If one invited a fellow for a pleasure trip in a rowboat and gave him the oars, he

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3. Division of Labor between Spouses

462 562 581 In marriage the two spouses are not only united by a bond of love, but consciously in a working partnership as well. Among the Fuegians all work serves the purpose of immediate sustenance; no one thinks of the future or of an accumulation of riches. Household management is possible for an independent family only on the basis of a definitely circumscribed division of labor for the two spouses. Hence, it necessarily follows that one member remains inescapably dependent upon the other. This not only brings about the almost complete equality of both sexes, but makes plausible the fact that an /672/ adult cannot continuously or for a long period live alone and unmarried. Hence, all of them, without exception, marry when they are still young. Single, aged, and widowed persons who cannot marry again try to find refuge with a family of friends. In marriage both parties join forces, and their common goal is to have the family operate in an orderly fashion as an economic and social arrangement.

462 The spheres of work and the various individual tasks are divided up according to the natural ability of each sex (62).

62. In March, 1864, Stirling referred to his observation that "there are well marked divisions of labour amongst this people" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 228;1864). Bridges (h):210 much later supplemented this: "The division of labor [between husband and wife] is made in a manner that is considered just" /translated from Spanish/. Hyades (g):35 expressed himself more precisely: "Within the family, man and wife divide the work. The actual hard work falls to the men... The actual housework -- in this case, with the lack of houses, it is certainly figurative, so-called housework -- falls to the women."

All duties requiring greater muscular power, tough endurance, audacious courage, and decisive fearlessness are suitable for the

/672 cont./

462 man, for he is by nature more sturdily built and he likes exertion and danger which he triumphantly conquers. The woman, on the other hand, likes to take care of the children and busy herself in the hut; she also likes to combine with this the many light manipulations required in her household and in the canoe. Since the division of work is carried out uniformly on the basis of natural assumptions, the co-operation of the two partners proceeds without friction and harmoniously.

Finally, it is helpful that the amount of work apportioned to the man and the woman does not overtax either of them, hence never makes them lifelong slaves to their duties. They are, of course, by no means spared hardship and toil, effort and exhaustion, but Mother Nature does not force upon them a hard "struggle for existence," in the sense familiar to the European day laborer. A slight effort suffices to satisfy their natural demands in life and to let them lead a happy existence (63).

63. Darwin's (d):247 assertion is utterly false: "The man is for the woman the brutal lord of a wretchedly toiling slave."

European travelers have quite unjustly painted the lot of the Fuegians in very somber colors. For example, Bove (e):157 felt that "in this struggle for existence the chief role falls to the women who are regarded more as slaves than as partners." To such an untrue statement the missionary T. Bridges (e):332 retorts: "The division of labor was just and sensible, and the women were in no way oppressed, but led a more comfortable and happy life than the men and, as everywhere, reached a greater age" (64).

64. Spegazzini (a):171 even professes to know: "In general among the Canoe Indians the feminine sex is much healthier and stronger than the masculine sex; this natural debility of the man and his not knowing how to swim are probably the causes that contribute to such a great predominance of women" /translated from Spanish/.

461 /673/ Our natives are constantly occupied; for them there are never rest periods of weeks and months. Even though the man rests for two or three days after an exhausting hunt, he is never completely idle, nor can he be, for minor demands unavoidably force themselves upon him and bring him to his feet again. It is odd, however, that the Fuegians very often interrupt their activity with short rest periods (65). They never give their concentrated

65. Hyades (q):220 also observed this: "If the Fuegians love exercise, it is on the condition that it does not continue very long and that it is broken by frequent intervals of rest, whether on the journey or at work" /translated from French/.

attention to one thing for a long time, but provide an extensive diversion for themselves after 20 or 30 minutes. Either they squat down somewhere else and chat with neighbors or, if there is no one around to talk to, they roast a few mussels for themselves. At the very least they poke around absentmindedly in the fire or on the ground. To do any kind of work in a hurry is something unknown to our Indians.

α. Activity of the Man

462 In the management of the household, the man does all the work that requires great physical strength and that can be accomplished only with extra courage, sometimes with audacity. His actual sphere of activity is the free hunt. In this field he developes all his ability and tough endurance, the diversity of his mental powers and the flexibility of his limbs, the keenness of his senses and the utmost dexterity in the handling of weapons. Again and again his thoughts turn to the animals which he must hunt in the various seasons, the ones he has recently killed and those he soon hopes to encounter at the place to which he will have his wife steer the canoe. He is constantly thinking about the habits of the game animals, and he tells his associates in great detail how this one resisted his attack or how that one

/673 cont./

#62 escaped despite the severe wounds inflicted by a well-directed harpoon thrust.

He hunts seals industriously, slaying them either with his club or with his javelins. To do this he must climb rocks, push into rock crevices and hollowed-out shores, or outwit the strong, very agile animal from the vantage point of his canoe. There is the greatest danger for the whole family in an attack on a whale swimming near the shore. In order to wound it severely and exhaust it fatally, each of the men hurrying toward it from all sides must ceaselessly thrust their harpoons into the mighty body of the animal, must enlarge the wound by tugging at the lasso, and immediately draw out the harpoons. The eastern Yamana creep up on guanacos. /674/ A small group of hunters will usually try to have their dogs encircle the herd and edge them toward the beach along the paths the guanacos have made. Men are concealed in the thicket along these paths and hurl their spears after the animals as they race by. The successful hunter will often disembowel the heavy booty at the place where it was slain and then drag it to his hut. Here he skins it and cuts it up into a few large pieces which are distributed among the neighboring families by his wife. The hunt for otters frequently demands patient waiting and afterwards often becomes very exciting. Finally, it is the duty of the man to stalk and kill the birds that are wanted in the household, namely, penguins which are killed with the spear, ducks and geese which are bagged with the sling or large snare, and cormorants which are caught by a dangerous search of their nesting holes in the bare rock walls. The man leaves the task of preparing the birds to his wife.

A no less vital task is canoe-building. He must attentively search for suitable pieces of bark in the forest, remove them carefully, handle them skillfully, and put them together masterfully into the finished vessel. Many tedious distances have been covered and sometimes very hard work performed before the new vessel can be pushed into the water for the first time (p. 116). It is his duty to undertake major repairs.

If possible, every man makes his own weapons and implements; it is seldom that he barters for a particular piece elsewhere. Whatever raw materials he needs, he usually gathers over a wide range.

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462 His work is interrupted by the constant canoe trips, and he must pick it up again and again before it is finally finished. He is expected to make the paddles and dance clubs for his wife, as well as the toys for his sons. From thick skins he cuts leather straps and suitable pieces for leather bags.

He does the heavy work in building the hut, especially gathering and erecting the necessary poles, and fetches large logs and whole bundles of smaller sticks for firewood. He lights the fire and keeps it going only if his wife is busy elsewhere. In the hut he lets her wait on him and keeps his hands free for his own work.

In the morning when the trip to another place starts, he alone takes care of his weapons and implements. He lays them out in the front part of the canoe and ready to be seized. On the way he is thinking only of his hunting and stands steadily on the lookout. He has his wife take him to the places where he expects to have success.

After consulting his wife, he procures whatever the family needs that can be obtained by barter. We refer to flint, raw hides, finished fur cloaks, ornaments, colored earth, whalebone, and smaller implements.

The above are the most important tasks of the man. He is primarily concerned with supplying sufficient amounts of meat for his family /675/ Everything that contributes to this end or that is required for it belongs in his sphere of duties. As a matter of principle he never touches the tasks that fall to his wife. If she should become sick or die, he immediately brings another woman into his hut to take her place. The clear separation of the two spheres of duties of man and wife can be seen in the fact that she would never remind him of a task or admonish him to greater industry, even if the family should become destitute and suffer hunger because of his negligence. All of which proves the almost complete independence of each of the two spouses in the management of the household, despite their co-operation (66).

66. The more important duties of the man have been enumerated by several travelers, for example, Bridges (h):210 and in MM:III,

462 /675 cont./

115;1869, Fitz-Roy (a):185, Furlong (b):132, Dabbene (b):188, Hyades (g):35 and (q):220, Lista (b):47, Outes (g):57, Webster:I, 182, Wieghardt:44, and others.

The following, which Stirling wrote in March, 1864, may serve as an example: "The men build the canoes, make the paddles, spears, etc. and sit in the canoes ever ready to use them. Bows and arrows, and snares for birds, they likewise make. The wigwam is the work of their hands, and every bit of wood, which feeds their perpetual fires, is gathered, and carried by the male section of the community" /cited in English/. Fitz-Roy (a):185 had made similar observations earlier.

β. Activity of the Woman

462 855 The actual duties of motherhood take up most of her time and are primary in the daily work of the Indian woman, in accordance with her physical and spiritual make-up. Every woman is blessed with several children who, almost without exception, remain in the parental hut until they are old enough to marry. She alone takes complete care of each of her children until it is three or four years old. After that the boys are chiefly entrusted to their father, while the mother continues to direct the girls. She gladly performs the great amount of manual work required by an infant, and she alone provides what is required for its care. In her happiness as a mother she is never separated from her youngest child, and she drags it about with her everywhere, although this makes her other work much more difficult.

462 Besides watching and tending the smallest children, she also performs special services for the family. She sews the pieces that are used for clothing for all the members of the family and for the most part also arranges their sleeping places. Although everyone helps himself when he is hungry to whatever is on hand, she nevertheless usually anticipates the wishes of the individual

/675 cont./

462 [252] and offers him what he prefers. She roasts the larger pieces of meat in and beside the fire, bakes and cooks the fish and mussels, crabs, and birds' eggs in hot ashes. She also provides drinking water and fetches it herself if none of her daughters is free to do it. Everyone expects her to make the small pieces of jewelry, such as necklaces and anklets.

462 356 /676/ Her field of work is the hut. She takes part, together with her husband, even in its construction and repairs damaged places and sections that have been loosened by the wind. She devotes particular attention to the hut fire, guarding it day and night, regulating the radiation of heat and the mounting flames, and seeing to it that the draft comes from the right direction and the smoke quickly drawn off. It is hard to believe how much attention and what numerous manipulations the hut fire demands if it is to benefit every member of the family and not annoy anyone. She prepares the sleeping place for everyone just as he wants it, and from time to time she renews the pallet. A good deal of refuse accumulates in the small living quarters, and the woman sees to it that this is promptly removed. She performs her many manual labors in the hut and in front of it, and she devotes herself tirelessly to the care of her children.

462 502 Her second field of activity is the canoe. It is the man's task to build it, but thereafter the care of this important means of transportation is entirely in her hands. She demands that the man make the repairs needed in the course of time, but she alone manages the canoe on the water and guards it on the beach (p.134). Before the family embarks, she gets the canoe ready so that everyone can comfortably pile in his things and easily climb in. She alone takes care of the paddling, which combines rowing and steering, and that is why she regularly takes her place at the stern end. She has previously come to an agreement with her husband as to the destination and the course. He gives her specific directions when he is on the trail of game. She anxiously guards the fire so that there is no danger to the bottom of the canoe, and she trains her children to keep it gently burning. To avoid capsizing, she sees to it that the occupants distribute themselves properly and that heavy pieces of game do not disturb the balance. She is always very conscious of the fact that on the water she alone is responsible for the boat and for her entire family.

/676 cont./

462 Our Indian woman contributes incomparably more to her family's sustenance than does her neighbor on Isla Grande. This is no exaggeration. One need only keep in mind that she alone gathers the mussels, which for the Yamana are as important as bread for a European. Her gathering activity, which lasts several hours on most days, also extends to snails and crabs, sea urchins and birds' eggs, berries and fungi. She catches many a fish with her fishline and many a young bird in its nest. All these articles of game benefit her whole family. She prepares for roasting the
462 large mammals and the birds which her husband brings to the hut.
252 Since no regular mealtimes are observed, she must serve first this one and then that one. She makes the popular blubber sausages (p. 320) and bakes the appetizing blood sausages in hot ashes. Finally, it is her task to dry Cyttaria fungi. Without this varied co-operation of the woman, the menu /677/ of the Yamana would be lamentably monotonous. She shows amazing skill and tireless endurance in obtaining food through the year (p. 281).

462 With all these manifold duties, there are all kinds of smaller
281 manual tasks. Seal, otter, and guanaco pelts and the skins of birds require a great deal of work. She must stretch, scrape, and, in part, dress them. She makes all the objects of leather and skins, especially bags and pouches, ornaments and toys, and naturally also the little that is used for body covering. For her personal use she needs small baskets and skin pouches. For the latter she chooses the alimentary canal of álakuš (Tachyeres brachypterus) and pieces of seal gut. She works on them during the brief intervals when she is free of other obligations. She looks for and prepares the colored earth for red and white body painting, prepares the fishing lines, and braids the rush hawsers for the canoe and the tendons for various uses (see particularly pp. 99, 196, 201).

462 If we add all this together, we are amazed and astonished at the extraordinarily extensive and versatile daily achievement of our Indian woman. Superficial travelers took this as a reason for describing her lot as oppressive and undignified, her burden of work as unbearable, and her existence as inhuman (67).

67. Bove (e):157 and (d):292 is one of those Europeans who exaggerate the most: "While

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the lord and master is lying beside the fire, the wife stands in the water, exposed to snow, rain, and wind, to fish for her idle husband." And yet, several years before that, Bridges had definitely established that "the men and boys do not lead an idle life at all" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 116; 1869).

Nevertheless, the woman not only gets her day's work done effortlessly, but even enjoys doing it and takes it up anew each morning with fresh spirits. Neither she nor her husband has a comfortable and pleasant life. Stirling was quite right when he emphasized in March, 1864: "The division of labour is not unfair, although the women are doubtless exposed to some hardship in cold weather, when they have to wade in the water in search of mussels, or to moor a canoe to the kelp, or set it free" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI, 228; 1864). In April, 1871, Bridges (i):22 came to the same conclusion from his own observations, namely, that "the division of labour was very fair, the women were not imposed upon" /cited in English/ (68). These are opinions worthy of note.

68. Footnote 66 gave a number of sources, to which we must add Stirling (VSA:XI, 228; 1864), Bridges (MM:III, 115;1869), Hyades (c):142 and (p):332. What Fitz-Roy (a):185 wrote may serve as an example: "The woman nurse their children, attend the fire (feeding it with dead wood, rather than green, on account of the smoke), make baskets and water-buckets, fishing-lines and necklaces, go out to catch small fish in their canoes, gather shell-fish, dive for sea-eggs, take care of the canoes, upon ordinary occasions paddle their masters about while they sit idle; -- and do any other drudgery" /cited in English/.

/677 cont./

γ. Collaboration of the Spouses

462 The activities and spheres of work of the man and wife are distinctly separate from one another. In their daily work both spouses strive for the material welfare of their family. This single aim /678/ is the reason why the two supplement each other harmoniously and beneficially. The identical direction of their efforts is shown even more in certain joint activities in which each lends a hand. In such cases, one alone may lack the necessary strength or their common effort may accomplish the work more quickly. This is true of hut-building; the man brings [342] the thicker trunks while she ties the framework together, stretches pieces of leather over it, and finally calks the whole construction. Usually the hut is built after a strenuous canoe trip on which man and wife have overtaxed themselves more or less, or at any rate enough. Hence the sooner they can move into the modest structure, the more advantageous it will be for the whole family. That is why they both work at it from the very beginning to the final touch. In order to moor the boat on the shore both of them must join forces, and again when it is once more pushed into the water. Together they lift the large pieces of leather, which are to be distributed over the hut framework, out of the canoe and put them back in again shortly before departure. Not infrequently the success of the hunt depends upon the accurately timed cooperation of both partners in the canoe, for as soon as the man starts pursuing a game animal, he is fully occupied with his weapons and his prey. It is the woman's responsibility to guide her vessel according to her husband's directions, to take it on this or that course faster or slower until the animal they have been pursuing is theirs. This sometimes requires the utmost exertion on the part of the man as well as the woman. In moments of greatest emergency she may even shout to him to take the paddle, for if a sudden violent storm breaks, she is unable to make shore paddling alone.

It is true that man and wife have their definitely circumscribed fields of activity. Nevertheless, if danger and distress, sickness, or incapacity demand it on occasion, neither of them

1: Gusinde--460 E-S (1918-1924) 1937 S116 Yahgan S116

/678 cont./
462 would hesitate to lend a hand in the other's sphere of duties (69).

69. Bridges (a):201 mentions: "Men very seldom help their wives to catch fish, which is their chief employment" /cited in English/. Not only in this respect, but quite generally it is the rule that one party may encroach on the sphere of activity of the other only to help on a serious occasion or if there is vital danger.

If we compare the day's work of the man with that of his wife, we realize at once that he is responsible for those labors and tasks which demand greater physical strength or perilous daring or bold /679/ recklessness. She, on the other hand, has the even, quieter, and less dangerous activities. While he, in single thrusts, as it were, and in isolated undertakings, must use all his capabilities, thereby growing very weary and sometimes actually exhausted, she has a diversity of light manual work (with the exception of the difficult paddling in bad weather) which permits her scarcely a moment to rest her hands idly in her lap. She stirs about the livelong day and often at night. The man, on the other hand, is entitled to rest periods of several hours at a stretch whenever he has exhausted himself in extraordinary physical efforts. An ignorant observer interprets the well-earned rest of the man as pure laziness and the tireless activity of the woman as the work of a slave in degrading dependence on her master. On the basis of this false judgment, descriptions have been given, such as Bove (d):292 (70) in particular indulged in, which found ready credibility

70. "How many times I have seen the men tranquilly sitting around a good fire, while the poor women stood exposed to the snow, wind, and rain, fishing for their idle and irate husbands" /translated from Italian/. Similarly, Lista (b):47 maintains: "A loafer, like all South American natives, the man leaves the whole burden of domestic tasks

1:Gumilde--461 E-5 (1919-1924) 1937 5000 Tehgue 5000

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to the unhappy woman, truly a victim condemned to be bound forever in the heavy chains of slavery. The women... while the men devote themselves to repose in the hut, go naked into the sea to collect mollusks" /translated from Spanish/. Both travelers had probably chosen Darwin (4):267 as their teacher; according to his view, "for the woman the man is the brutal lord of a wretchedly-toiling slave."

in many circles.

461 Each of the two spouses regards his daily work as his obvious duty, which he performs with tireless patience in the service of his family. Let it be said in praise of these much misunderstood human beings that they devote themselves diligently and intrepidly to their work! Idlers and persons unmindful of their duty are rare and are despised by their neighbors. The majority are diligent and industrious; everyone pursues his occupation indefatigably, although his only outward compensation is the satisfaction of the members of his family and the fulfillment of his own sense of duty. Many an effort in rain and snowstorm is hard and unpleasant, but no one grumbles or complains. Time and again I have seen them exert themselves amid the greatest external vexations, but I never heard a word of discontent, anger, or impatience. Though the hunt was unsuccessful, though they were obliged to battle the waves in heavy rain and hail for hours, though they lost even their most indispensable tools, they did not complain or scold, but quietly and with customary haste built their hut and warmed themselves at their fire, just as happily as on the days of great success. They slept undisturbed and greeted the next morning with hope and joy, no matter whether it presaged sunshine or a snowstorm.

462 Thus, it is easy to sum up the /680/ work that is incumbent
461 on our Fuegians. They are constantly busy and, as a result, amply tired; hence they are spared long periods of inactivity. Even on rare occasions when Mother Nature presents them with an abundance of food, they may not sit with their hands in their laps. Sometimes neither the woman nor the man is spared the utmost

1: Gwinde--462 E-6 (1919-1924) 1937 5006 Tolgan 5006

expenditure of energy, which is then followed by the required period of rest. From the start, neither of the two partners is given so much work that he finds it oppressive; rather, the type of activity and the number of tasks which constitute the day's work of each of them are fully in accord with the natural propensities which he as a grown man and she as a grown woman bring into their marriage (71). The co-operation of both of them in their

71. Cooper 189 reviewed the communications of many travelers on the subject of the division of labor among the Tamana and concluded from them that "the division seems, if we take into account Foegian tribal conditions and necessities, to be a fairly equitable one" /cited in English/.

respective spheres of obligations, as well as in their joint undertakings provides the economic necessities for the family, binds the two spouses together in mutual dependence, and fills the life of each of them.

4. Relations between the Spouses

In order to supply their sustenance, that is to say, on the broad basis of household management, the two partners are so closely bound that one remains dependent on the other. This alone constitutes a tie that is extraordinarily binding on both members, but even beyond that they form a union of heart and soul.

Freedom in the choice of a mate and the important participation of the wife in economic management make it seem plausible that in the family both sexes have, so to speak, complete equality of rights and privileges. This fundamental idea is not invalidated by individual situations or occasional appearances of a different nature. Even Bridges (b):310 gives eloquent expression to it: "The wife is not wholly dependent on her husband and has all the freedom that she wants" /translated from Spanish/. The woman is well aware of her rights, and that is why she leaves a man who treats her badly, that is why, without specifically

/1385 cont./

disturbances. This is chiefly true of one who is accused of having caused the death of a beloved person or /1386/ a widespread sickness. For many people a yékamuĺ may cause almost constant fear and anxiety. They cannot even flee for safety because the yékamuĺ extend their influence over wide areas. The missionaries often complained about this. Burleigh, for example, wrote on October 29, 1883: "Death has removed from us one poor woman who gave us much trouble at Wollaston with her sorceries, and by causing the death of those she hated, and who went so far as to try her evil designs upon us because I reproved her and some others for their sins" /cited in English/ (MM:XXVIII, 57,1883). The anxiety of a family group may continue for a considerable time if several yékamuĺ fight each other in their own peculiar way.

In spite of all this, the people place their entire confidence in the yékamuĺ at times of personal distress and general need. He must help them in case of serious illness, protect them against the threat of malevolent natural forces, lead an expedition of revenge, and defend each individual against all kinds of dangers which are part of everyday life. In general his activity is actually more beneficial and advantageous than harmful and detrimental to the individual and his group. For this reason a capable, helpful yékamuĺ is loved by his people; they appreciate and respect him, obey him and confide in him. If one yékamuĺ is more capable than another, there is even serious jealousy among the individual family groups. In general each family follows its guiding yékamuĺ, entrusts itself to his care, and defends him against others. From all this one can see how closely a yékamuĺ is associated with his immediate neighborhood.

Although the natives themselves speak of women who act as yékamuĺ, and many Europeans confirm this, such accounts must be qualified. Usually a woman does no more than accompany her husband in singing now and then, or silently and patiently sits beside him when he gives himself up to deepest concentration. I was often a witness to this. Old Emilia, who was married to middle-aged Manuel, and Sara, the wife of Mahenikens, were pointed out to me as yékamuĺ (319). Neither

319. Hyades (4):287 also writes: "Mr. Bridges

/1386 cont./

X756 462 adds that he happened to meet an old woman who is yakamouch" /translated from French/.

in former times nor today has a woman operated quite independently in this field or appeared in public with the feather ornament reserved for all full-fledged yékamuš: Some people, however, really believe that a woman whose attitude arouses suspicion is capable and evil enough to cause harm and sickness to come to her opponents, like the medicine men. The people suspect such a woman and call her a yékamuš only if she exerts such influences. She does not go beyond that. Thus her ability is nowhere near as extensive as that of a /1387/ full-fledged medicine man. In general these are isolated cases of aged women who are not well liked and are avoided by their neighbors on account of their unpleasant dispositions and disagreeable character. In view of this it is not strange that they are the very ones who are considered capable of working with secret powers and of maliciously inflicting some kind of harm on other people.

X756 554 The Yamana without exception believe in the ability of their medicine men and are convinced of their power. This faith is most clearly demonstrated by everyone's attitude of awe and genuine fear toward the yékamuš, by the trust the individual shows when he approaches the yékamuš with his requests, and finally by the confidence with which the general public expects help from him for major and minor needs. In his extreme helplessness, many a Yamana has only the medicine man as a last resource. It is true that the people recognize greater or lesser ability in their yékamuš and they probably also deprecate the good reputation of one or another of them, making him out to be weak and incapable. Nevertheless everyone fears them, and a person must expect their revenge if they hear of his expressing disdainful opinions of them. Bridges repeatedly begged the Yamana: "Do not believe what your yékamuš say and do, for their deeds and their behavior are crafty deceptions! Do not believe the cunningly calculated nonsense that they use to trick you!" As a matter of fact, he expressed himself so scornfully

white, war and ritual; black, mourning. Red symbolized peace. Designs were very simple, confined to lines, dots, and, less commonly, circles.

Ornaments.—Personal adornments were: necklaces, of sections of bird leg bones strung on braided sinew, of strung punched shells (*Photinula violacea*), or of frapped hanks of braided sinew, often colored red; bone or shell pendants, sometimes attached to the necklaces; and wristlets and anklets of sinew and hide. Feather diadems and bird-skin, feather, or down-ornamented fillets or forehead caps were also used.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes.—Travel by the *Yahgan* was almost entirely by water. Their earlier sole form of watercraft was the built-up bark canoe, of a crescent or gondola shape that characterizes other craft well up the west coast of South America to Perú; the plank boat, the *Araucanian* dugout, the seal-hide float, and the double-ended reed balsa were absent (Lothrop, 1932 a, pp. 253–54).

The *Yahgan* canoe (pls. 34, 35) was made of three strips of beech bark, one-half inch to more than an inch (1.2 to 2.5 cm.) thick, which ordinarily formed the bottom and two sides respectively. Average length was about 15 feet (5 m.), with a range from about 12 to 20 feet (4 to 7 m.); gunwale to gunwale width in center, about 3 feet (1 m.); depth in center, about 2 feet (0.6 m.). The bark, taken only from the evergreen beech (*Nothofagus betuloides*), was stripped off in the spring, when the sap was running. In removing the bark from the tree, the natives used a bone chisel or mussel-shell knife to cut it and a bone barking tool to strip it, and in ascending the tree held themselves thereto with a strong rawhide thong. After smoothing the bark on both sides with a small chisel, they cut it into three cigar-shaped pieces. These pieces were then sewn together with whalebone or with shreddings of warmed saplings, the seams being wadded with the stringy seams of wild celery grass or with moss mixed with mud. The gunwales were next lashed on. The ribs, of split Winter's bark, were then fitted in and locked in place under the gunwales. The thwarts, usually five or six, of hardwood, were inserted and lashed to the gunwale.

The fireplace was set amidships. The paddle was in one piece with a long lanceolate blade and short round-section handle without crosspiece or other grip. The *Yahgan* canoe leaked much; the cylindrical bailers (pl. 33, *e*) were usually of bark or sealskin. Sealskin thongs and braided grass ropes were used as mooring lines. The construction and repair of the canoe were the man's task; but its management, including paddling and mooring off shore in a kelp bed, were the woman's. In a sense, she was mistress of the canoe, with its hearth and ever-lighted fire. In a favorable wind a crude sail, made of a sealskin or

437 rency of any kind, and no weights or measures. Barter was carried
[439] on among the *Yahgan* themselves, with the *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, and
[809] with the Whites. Barter by exchange of presents was common; a
[436] gift was made, regardless often of the wishes of the recipient, who could not refuse it without affronting the giver, and who was definitely expected to give something in return.

768 Inheritance played a very minor role. Much or most of the de-
428 ceased's property was burnt with the body. The person's dog fell to the oldest son or other near relative or acquaintance. Some of the more valuable or useful property might be bartered or given away to distant persons. Such burning, bartering, and giving away were intended to take from sight what would cause sorrow to the surviviors by reminding them of the beloved departed, and to signify the survivors' desire not to profit by the death.

685 Stealing was considered decidedly reprehensible; but thefts actually occurred, even among their own people, not as daily matters, so to speak, but it would seem, not very uncommonly. A habitual thief, who failed to reform, was in the end boycotted—a severe punishment under *Yahgan* living conditions.

574 Generous sharing of food with kin and friends was the rule. Hospitality was extended as a matter of course.

46 **Labor.**—Neither wage nor slave labor existed. There was a little, but not much, labor in common. Each family was a relatively independent economic unit. The division of labor was almost exclusively a sexual one, with no organized or unorganized craftsmen making their living by specialized trades.

462 The man's task was to hunt marine mammals, otter, guanaco, and birds, to make his own weapons, to build and repair the canoe, to do the harder work in hut building. The woman's task was to care for the younger children, to cook, tend the fire and look after the hut generally, to paddle and have general management of the canoe in which the family spent so much of its time, to do all the skinwork and leatherwork, such as preparing skins, sewing clothing, and making skin bags and pouches, to make baskets, and, last but not least, to collect mussels, much of the fish and other sea food, eggs, fungi, and berries.
[262] Since mussels were the chief food resource, the woman's part as provider was an extremely important one.

[502] Probably her crucial role as food provider had a good deal to do with her relatively high status in *Yahgan* society. Certain tasks fell to man and woman jointly, such as building the hut, and hunting from the canoe, when the man did the killing while the woman maneuvered the craft. All in all, if we take into account *Yahgan* living conditions, although the list of women's tasks is longer than that of the men's, actually the sexual division of labor appears to have been a fairly equitable one.